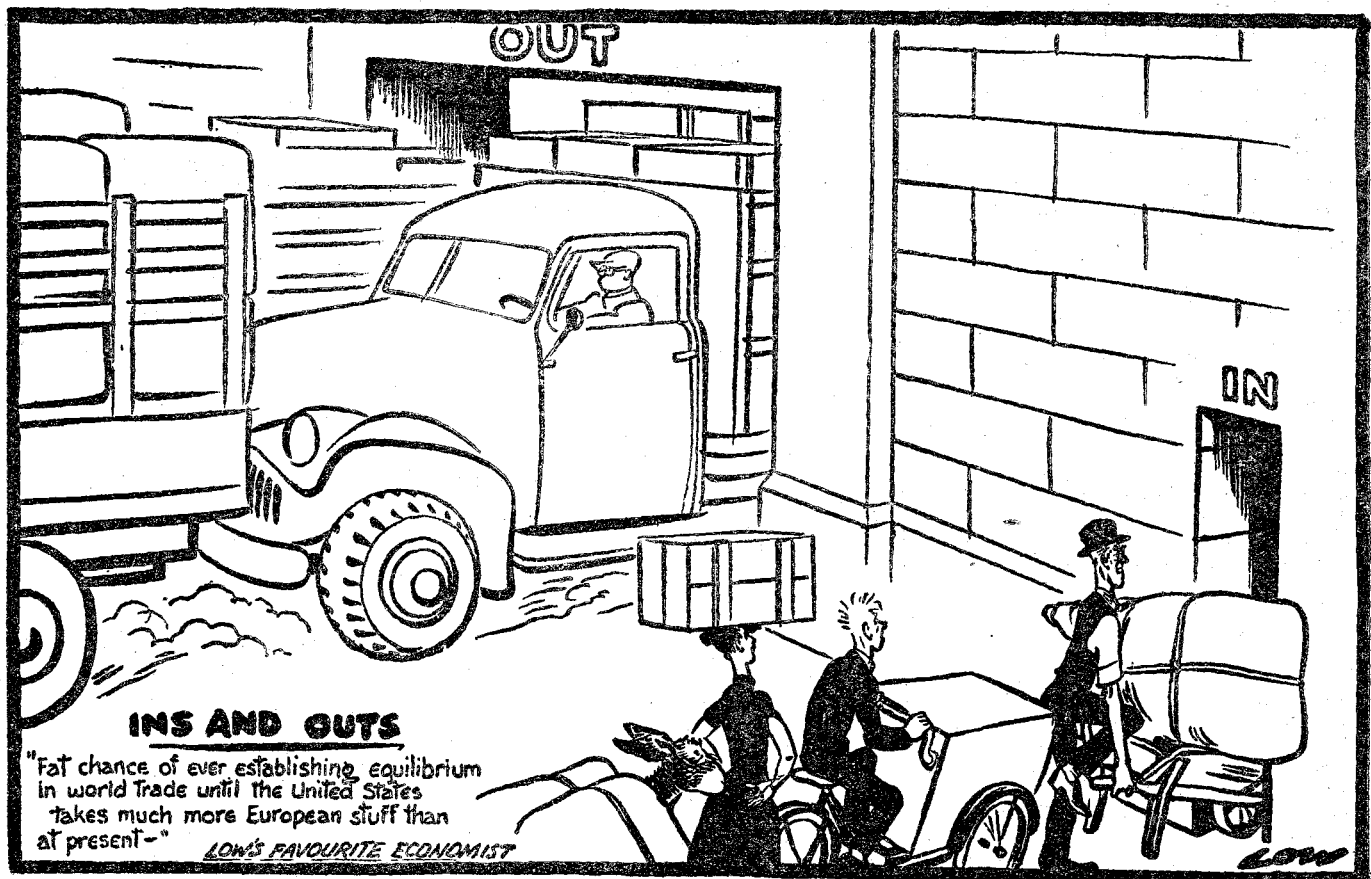


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THE *Nation*

September 10, 1949



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THE *Nation*

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The Shape of Things

GOING BEYOND THE ANGLO-SAXON PRECEPT, President Truman holds that a man is innocent until proved guilty and even then if he happens to be a friend. Now that General Vaughan has had his hearing before a Senate subcommittee, he looks no better than when the President some time ago asked the country to suspend judgment on his flamboyant military aide. There is no suggestion that Vaughan personally profited from the sordid transactions of the five-percenters, nor has the entire investigation turned up any corruption even faintly comparable with the great skulduggeries of the past. Nevertheless, the General's performance, by his own testimony, was so redolent of the morality of a wardheeler, so scandalously lacking in a sense of his position, so raw in its misuse of influence, that there is no question of his unfitness for further service. Yet the President has now made it plain that he has no intention either of firing Vaughan or of sending him to some remote military outpost where he might contemplate his Argentine decorations in harmless seclusion. Here we see again the kind of loyalty that sent Mr. Truman as Vice-President to the funeral of "Boss" Pendergast, who had crowned his career with a term in the penitentiary for understandably failing to pay income tax on receipts from an extensive insurance graft. Thus Mr. Truman, unquestionably honest himself, helps to make good the boast of the Missouri newspaperman who proudly announced in April, 1945, that the code of Kansas City had replaced that of Hyde Park.

✱

NEW YORKERS ARE FORTUNATE IN MORE ways than one that former Governor Herbert H. Lehman has agreed to run for the Senate. In the first place he offers them the opportunity of Washington representation in the tradition of Robert F. Wagner. To as thorough a knowledge of the needs of his state as any man can claim he adds the broad understanding of international affairs acquired in his years as director of UNRRA. But beyond this, his decision, hard to make in the circumstances, is a brave refusal to be intimidated by threats of a division of his party along religious lines. Had Lehman withdrawn from the race in order to forestall the kind of campaign which he dreaded, he would

have been penalizing himself, and the state, for having had the courage to oppose the school ban on this magazine and to come to the defense of Mrs. Roosevelt in her brush with Cardinal Spellman. Thus by refusing to withdraw he has averted the setting of a dangerous precedent. Fortunately the tension over those two incidents has eased, and Mr. Lehman has evidently had adequate assurances from Democratic leaders that he will have the solid support of his party, Catholic and non-Catholic alike. In the circumstances he is wise to reject the idea, widely suggested as a condition of his running, that a committee of Catholics be formed to indorse his candidacy. Such a committee would have revealed a nervousness that could only have increased the feeling of strain. There is no place in an American election for committees based on religious identity—Catholic, Protestant, or Jewish. Governor Lehman has met a challenge, and whether he wins or loses in November, he has met it successfully.

✱

IN ITS FIVE MONTHS OF FRUITLESS MEETINGS the Palestine Conciliation Commission succeeded only in enlarging the gulf between the Arabs and the Jews. This result was almost inevitable, for the members of the commission consistently disregarded their instructions to bring the disputing nations together in an effort to achieve permanent peace in the Middle East. Instead, the commission members sought to impose solutions dictated by their national interests, discouraging direct negotiation to the point of rebuking an Arab diplomat who attempted to meet privately with the Israelis. In view of the impressive success of the face-to-face armistice conferences, it is incomprehensible why such an attitude should have prevailed, unless it is conceded that the conciliators were less interested in peace than in reestablishing the prestige of the most intransigent and reactionary Arab elements. These survivors of the feudal age took advantage of the situation to advance, with the aid of the world press, farcical territorial claims which, if recognized, would have reduced Israel "to a small area around Tel Aviv." That defeated and discredited aggressor states felt secure enough to make such ridiculous demands is clear indication of how the winds were blowing across Lake Geneva. By contrast, the Jews were prodded by Washington to make concessions on territory and on refugees, though the 100,000 Arabs that the Jews indicated they would accept will be

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a back-breaking burden. As for the Jessup formula—yielding of territory by the Jews in return for gains outside partition boundaries—this was discarded by the United Nations last fall, but our State Department dies hard. Now, finally, the Conciliation Commission has given up, and the Jews and the Arabs are left to bargain on their own. On the basis of past experience, this cannot but produce good results. ✕

THE DOCTRINES OF RACE AND BLOOD MAY be surging up again in Germany, but in the United States they received last week as stiff a blow as a high federal judge can administer. The jurist was William Denman, Chief Judge of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, and the case was that of three Japanese Americans suing for restoration of their citizenship. All three had renounced citizenship during the war, not of their own free will, they said, "but as the result of undue influence, mistake, misunderstanding, and coercion." It was primarily with that "undue influence" and "coercion" that Judge Denman, supported by his colleague, Judge William E. Orr, concerned himself. The facts he cited in his opinion should redden the cheek of General John L. De Witt, the man who back in 1942 ordered the exclusion of all persons of Japanese blood from the West Coast on the ground that their racial inheritance was enough to make them suspect. The Judge recalled that General De Witt gave these native-born citizens five days in which to quit their homes for what were euphemistically called "relocation centers." Conditions in those centers were "as degrading as those of a penitentiary and in important respects worse than in any federal penitentiary." Referring to the "unnecessarily cruel and inhuman treatment" meted out to these people for no offense other than the blood that ran in their veins, Judge Denman dwelt on "the identity of De Witt's doctrine with that which the Nazi generals invoked to justify the gas chambers of Dachau." The Japanese American prisoners at Tule Lake, he pointed out, must have realized the similarity. The opinion, of course, goes far beyond the claims of the three appellants. There are some 4,000 similar cases, and for that reason Judge Denman said he felt obliged to go deeply into the background of the whole episode. He emerged with a reaffirmation of the doctrine, basic in American law, that men may be condemned not for what they are but only for what they do. These are times that can stand such a reaffirmation, which is applicable to politics as well as race. ✕

AN EDITORIAL PARAGRAPH IN THESE PAGES on June 18 questioned the wisdom of a Denver probate-court judge in barring the transfer of funds willed to Yugoslav charities by a man who had emigrated from Yugoslavia to this country and amassed a fortune of

over a million dollars. We have since received from Judge C. Edgar Kettering of Denver a full copy of his decision, from which it appears that his order was only provisional; that is, until such time as the trustees of the estate could visit Yugoslavia and be accorded full opportunity to investigate conditions and supervise expenditures of the funds. A provisional order of this kind is well within the discretion of a probate judge and is, of course, entirely fair. We are grateful to Judge Kettering for bringing the full text of his ruling to our attention.

An End to Folly

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S speech emphasizing the necessity of American-British cooperation and promising that the forthcoming negotiations would be conducted in a friendly atmosphere was the most elementary common sense. At the same time it was evidence not so much of the statesmanship of the Administration as of the abysmal folly of certain other groups that made it necessary. We refer, of course, to the currently popular American pastime of aiming barbs at the scarred hide of the British lion.

Even if the Russians had turned out to be good little playmates and worldwide political tension had subsided at the end of the war, the welfare of other nations would have depended largely on the successful partnership of the two great Western democratic systems—on their ability to stabilize the global economy, increase production and trade, and raise standards of living. In the presence of the cold war, with depression and unemployment looming as the almost inevitable result of any failure to pull together, a squabble between Great Britain and the United States would be too frivolous to be endured by anyone above a sixth-grade mentality.

The conservative agitators who have caused the trouble were well put in their place by Mr. Truman. We have no wish—and certainly no power—to dictate Britain's form of government. If the British want socialism, that is their business. If they should cease to want it, that would be their business, too. This cannot be said too clearly or authoritatively, as a matter of principle. In terms of expediency, the anti-Socialists in the United States could adopt no better way of solidifying the British around their present government than to threaten them with penalties if they continue to support it. Any actual execution of such penalties would be calamitous for both nations and for the world.

Of course American conservatives do not want British socialism to prosper; its success might offer too alluring an example to this country. But the British people should understand that the current attacks on their system of government in the United States were for domestic consumption, without much thought of the ulti-

mate consequences. Here was Britain in difficulty; here was Britain governed by a Socialist Party. The conjunction was just too tempting for the second-rate politician or journalist to resist. The fact that the two things are almost unrelated in any real sense was naturally not considered of any consequence.

Those on this side of the Atlantic who are striving to expose such perilous nonsense would be helped if British opponents of the present government would also make the sharp and necessary distinctions. Campaign speeches like those of Winston Churchill do not help. Books like those of Hayek and Jewkes do not help. All concerned might well admit that the dollar shortage has a history that long antedates the power of British Labor, that American policy and events are as clearly responsible for it as British, that any British government, Socialist or non-Socialist, would have to take stern measures to overcome it. The issues are so grave that the hammering out of a solution must not be impeded by misinformed or malevolent controversy about causes. And the foundations now laid ought to be more than temporary; there is a long future in which the two great peoples must occupy the same building in amity.

Nightmare in Peekskill

AS AN unsolicited service to a busy man we remind Governor Thomas E. Dewey of the fine words with which he crushed Harold Stassen in the famous Portland debate of 1948. In what proved the turning point of his drive for the Republican nomination the Governor denounced attempts "to beat down ideas with a club" as the "surrender of everything we believe in... a philosophy which I shall fight to the limit of my strength." We hope, and have a right to expect, that Mr. Dewey will act on that sentiment in dealing with the disgraceful riots near Peekskill, in which attempts were literally made "to beat down ideas with a club."

Through the welter of reports and statements on the affair certain plain facts emerge: a group of veterans' organizations, acting collectively, set out to stop an open-air concert to have been given by Paul Robeson, whose warped political views have nothing to do with his right to speak, much less with his right to sing. "Our objective," an American Legion commander said after the first riot, "was to prevent the Paul Robeson concert, and I think our objective was reached." In spite of the clearest kind of advance warning that racial and political dynamite was to be set off, the authorities not only gave the veterans permission to picket, which was legal enough, but, whether by design or through the grossest negligence, failed to police the gathering or even take minimum precautions. What followed was almost inevitable: blocking of entrances, incendiary epithets, open

threats, and finally a free-for-all in which cars were wrecked, scores were injured, racial tensions flared up, and the lynch spirit arrived in Westchester, complete down to the burning of crosses.

With this experience to draw on, officials confronted the prospect of a repeat-performance the following week. Under fire for their culpable laxity of the preceding Sunday and subject to accounting to the Governor, they properly assured the Robeson adherents of ample police protection, and so far as the concert itself was concerned, this was afforded. But by what perverse logic were the veterans' groups allowed to stage a counter-demonstration directly in front of the concert grounds? With the air hot with tension, four communities issued parade permits and when a newly-formed "Law and Order Committee" petitioned the federal courts for injunctive relief it was turned down disdainfully. Not satisfied with denying that he had jurisdiction, Judge John W. Clancy came up with the absurd comment, "I assume everybody obeys the law. I don't know why you think the veterans are going to disobey it. You want your rights preserved but no one else's. I think this is a cheeky application."

It was against this background of official irresponsibility that the lawlessness broke out after the concert. In this second Battle of Peekskill at least 140 persons were injured, some seriously; hundreds were bruised; innumerable cars were wrecked; violence raged over a ten-mile area; and for hours no car was safe from volleys of flying rocks. Radio commentators, broadcasting from the scene, asked in horrified tones whether this could be the United States in the year 1949.

In an immediate sense Governor Dewey is now on trial. His first move was to demand an inquiry by the sheriff, the district attorney, and state police—all of them reasonably charged with negligence on the occasion when the concert was first scheduled. Unless this action is made to serve merely as a preliminary report, to be followed by a vigorous and impartial investigation, the Governor will not and cannot be acquitted. But far beneath this level of official culpability lies the sinister layer of hate and hysteria which converted an anti-Communist demonstration into a witch's holiday. Paul Robeson's recent statements have been stupid and uncalled for, if not deliberately inflammatory, but the explosion at Peekskill was not merely anti-Communist. It was anti-Negro and anti-Semitic as well, charged with indiscriminate hatred. What was more horrifying than the ignorance of the veterans, who have done a fine week's work for Joseph Stalin, was the revelation of Nazi-like violence in the teen-agers, who carried out most of the terror. That is something that should haunt school officials, the parents, indeed all the citizens of Westchester County long after the Robeson nightmare is forgotten.

Asia's Tito?

BY ANDREW ROTH

[Andrew Roth, our Asian correspondent, recently obtained an exclusive and rather unique interview with Ho Chi Minh, leader of the Viet Nam resistance forces. Mr. Roth was in Batavia and Ho Chi Minh at his secret headquarters in Tonkin; they were able to talk together by means of a radio hook-up, both voices being relayed through an intermediate station in Thailand. On page 247 of this issue there appears a longer air-mailed article from Mr. Roth on the French puppet emperor of Indo-China, Bao Dai.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Batavia, September 2

ALTHOUGH there has been much talk in Washington about the possibility of Chinese Titoism, the situation in Viet Nam offers strong evidence that the State Department is incapable of recognizing Titoism when it sees it. As long ago as last January I had collected considerable information showing that Ho Chi Minh was refusing to follow the orthodox Stalinist line. The State Department, however, continued to treat this extremely popular leader as a "Moscow agent" while supporting Bao Dai as a "nationalist leader."

In the course of my radio interview I asked Ho Chi Minh whether Viet Nam could "completely resist" the pulls of the cold war. He replied with a blunt "Yes!" He was equally positive that it was possible "to be neutral or semi-neutral between the two great blocs," thus differing sharply from Mao Tse-tung. Ho admitted that the Chinese Communist victories represented "a shift in the Asian balance of power," but, he added, "Viet Nam will always rely on its own strength."

Ho compared his program with Mao's as follows: "Our plans are like those of the Chinese New Democracy in that both are for the people. The difference is that China's New Democracy is Chinese; ours Viet Namese." "The Viet Nam Republic," he continued, "will be 'of the people, by the people, and for the people.'" His further statement, "We welcome all constructive, honest, and friendly criticism from foreign as well as Viet Namese newsmen," displays his customary reluctance to attack American policy, so different from the attitude of the Chinese Communists.

What, I asked, would be his reaction if the United States underwrote the Franco-Bao Dai military offensive against his forces? "We don't like to suppose that the United States would sponsor French imperialism," he replied; "that would be unwise and un-American."

Despite many French-inspired stories to the contrary, Ho categorically denied that he had entered into preliminary negotiations with the Chinese Communists for arms. Would he accept arms if they were offered by Mao? With characteristic wit, he answered: "What friendly advice would you give us in that case?"

Pension Politics in California

I. THE REVOLT OF THE BLIND

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Los Angeles, September 1

THE current discussion in California of whether Proposition No. 4, a pension plan adopted last year, should be repealed is bringing to public attention for the first time the peculiar problems of one of the nation's most imposed-upon minorities, the blind. Proposition No. 4 increased pensions for the aged from \$65 to \$75 a month and those of the needy blind from \$75 to \$85 a month, declared that the existence of a responsible relative did not render a blind person ineligible for a pension, and increased the amount of property which a blind person could own and still be eligible. It was sponsored by the Citizens' Committee for Old Age Pensions, headed by one George H. McLain. The burden of old-age and blind pensions formerly carried by the counties—\$5 per month per person for the aged, \$6 per month for the blind—was shifted to the state, as was the share of the administrative expense formerly allocated to the counties, namely, 50 per cent. Pensions were made a first claim on all funds in the state treasury.

The pension plan first proposed for the November, 1948, ballot by the Payroll Guarantee Association ("Ham 'n' Eggs") was ruled off the ballot at the last minute by the Supreme Court. The opponents of pension schemes then relaxed; the only sums reported spent to defeat Proposition No. 4 were \$4,500 contributed by the insurance companies and less than \$1,000 by the Council of the Blind. But the records show that the McLain organization spent \$190,000 to put over Proposition No. 4, which was adopted as a constitutional amendment by the narrow margin of 37,000 votes. Some 439,699 citizens who went to the polls failed to vote on the amendment; approximately one-third of the state's registered voters were for it.

It is generally agreed that the prime factor in the adoption of Proposition No. 4 was the public's well-known sympathy for the blind. In the campaign the amendment was ballyhooed as a measure to aid the blind; billboards carried the slogan "Help the Blind, Vote yes on No. 4"; a widely printed cartoon of an emaciated and bedridden old man, with the staring eyes of the blind, bore the caption: "Who Will Wash My

Face Today?" The blind did not appreciate this cartoon and were not pleased with Proposition No. 4.

One of the principal problems faced by the blind, as a minority, has always been the public's abundant sympathy. Do-gooders and racketeers have shamelessly exploited this sympathy, and it has had a demoralizing influence on the blind themselves. Organizations to help the blind have existed without number for as long as anyone can remember—to provide them with white canes, to buy them musical instruments (the blind are supposed to have a compensating delight in music), and for other purposes both laudable and ludicrous. Many of these organizations are pure rackets from which the blind have derived no benefits; others are honestly motivated, but even these have been run for, not by, the blind. The result has been the development of a universally accepted and thoroughly harmful stereotype. The blind person is thought of as a mendicant sitting abjectly at a street corner, some pencils in one hand and a tin cup in the other. This stereotype has been an enormous handicap to the blind, preventing them, often, from winning a chance to prove that aside from their physical disability they are just like other people.

HENCE for years a revolt has been simmering among the blind: their problem, in a sense, has been to win the democratic right of self-determination. And the struggle has been all the harder precisely because it has been carried on, not against a cruel tyranny, but against the tyranny of sympathy and sentimentality.

The leaders of this revolt are two remarkable Californians—Dr. Newel Perry and Jacobus ten Broek. Dr. Perry, now over seventy, graduated from the School for the Blind at Berkeley, took a degree in mathematics at the University of California, and then got his Ph. D. at Munich, returning to become director of the School for the Blind. From the outset Dr. Perry has insisted that the blind should speak for the blind and that they want not alms but rehabilitation. Jacobus ten Broek was one of Dr. Perry's students. Born in Canada of Dutch immigrant parents, ten Broek lost the sight of one eye when he was seven years old and some years later that of the other through sympathetic atrophy. Responding to the challenging influence of Dr. Perry, he took a degree at the University of California, then an advanced degree, and later, as Brandeis Research Fellow, received his S. J. D. at the Harvard Law School. Today he is one of the

CAREY McWILLIAMS is a staff contributor. The second part of this article, dealing with the political maneuvering around pension plans, will appear soon.

most active and best-liked members of the faculty at the University of California.

The movement initiated by Dr. Perry for the self-organization of the blind achieved its first objective in California in 1928 when the people adopted a constitutional amendment making it possible for the state to develop a welfare program for the blind on a broader premise than "the relief of poverty." Next came the formation of the Council for the Blind, which has induced the legislature to adopt one rehabilitation measure after the other as part of a well-rounded welfare program, the first state plan not entirely geared to the concept of need.

From California the revolt of the blind spread into twenty-eight other states and resulted, in 1940, in the formation of the National Federation of the Blind. Dr. ten Broek, whose energy and initiative brought it into being, has been president of the federation from the beginning. The blind themselves have carried forward what he began, though they have been very short of funds and have done most of the office work, Dr. ten Broek's friends say, in his kitchen. The federation has consistently taken the position that the problems of the blind are not to be confused with those of the aged; that what they need is rehabilitation, not pensions. Of the 260,000 blind in the United States 52.7 per cent are between the ages of twenty and fifty-nine; many of these, if given encouragement and assistance, could become entirely self-supporting.

AT THE 1943 convention of the California Council of the Blind, McLain attempted to get the Council's support for an initiative pension proposal which included increased pensions for the needy blind. When his overtures were rebuffed, he tried without success to undermine the Council's leadership and to take over its control. Later he incorporated the Legislative Committee of the California Blind, now headed by Frank Gardner, a disgruntled former member of the Council of the Blind. In his propaganda McLain harps on the theme that Perry and ten Broek are rich men, that they are only partially blind (this by inference), and that the Council of the Blind is a "front" for reactionary business interests. The facts are that both men are totally blind and not rich and that the Council does speak for the blind of California. The real front for business interests is the Legislative Committee of the California Blind.

The California Council of the Blind was quick to oppose Proposition No. 4, not because it objected to higher pensions or favored relative responsibility, but because the measure's approach to the problems of the blind was diametrically opposed to everything the Council had achieved and hoped to achieve. The idea of "relief" was emphasized; the stereotype of the blind man as mendicant was reinforced; and, most important of all, the pub-

lic was again being asked to do something for the blind. By carefully explaining its position, the Council was able to induce the State Federation of Labor to withdraw its indorsement of the proposition and to get both wings of the C. I. O. to come out against it. Once the measure was passed, however, labor and other groups began to take an opportunistic view of the McLain movement.

Shortly after the proposition was adopted the Council of the Blind announced that it intended to work for a referendum. The moneyed interests, anxious to repeal the measure for their own reasons, promptly offered to finance the campaign—the Council was almost wholly without funds. The first task was to draft a compromise measure. The two elements finally agreed upon one which would retain the increased pensions for the needy blind and aged but repeal the rest of the act. This is the measure which will appear as Proposition No. 2 on the November ballot. The Council wanted to retain the provision eliminating the bar against pensions for blind persons with responsible relatives, but the dropping of this provision was the price which it had to pay for the support of the moneyed interests. It is no secret that a hot battle has been raging behind the scenes. The blind are determined to conduct the campaign in a manner that will not injure the cause of liberal pensions; the moneyed interests want to use the campaign to undercut the pension movement.

The moment it became apparent that the effort to repeal Proposition No. 4 was not a bluff, McLain sought an injunction to keep the repeal measure off the ballot. The filing of this suit temporarily relieved Governor Warren from having to decide whether or not to call a special election, which was demanded by the moneybags and opposed by the pension advocates. (This, incidentally, was the same dilemma which caused Governor Olson such anguish in 1939.) Having a cultivated sense of political mischief and being headed by a Chief Justice who is a Democrat, the Supreme Court dissolved the injunction "to free the Governor's hands," that is, so he would be obliged to make a decision. Governor Warren, who is a hard man to put on a spot, publicly thanked the Supreme Court for its action, since it enabled him, he said, to refer the whole question to the legislature, which fortunately was still in session. Thus in less time than it takes to tell, the pension football had been lateraled from the court to the governor and from the governor to the legislature. The legislature, caught with the ball, decided to call a special election on a school-bond proposal, which had the effect of automatically placing the repeal measure on the ballot.

As soon as a special election was scheduled, the various interest groups immediately began to jockey for position, for they all realized that McLain would attempt to make the repeal issue a test of strength for the 1950 election. Labor has tried to form a coalition with the

"Senior Citizens" of the kind that brought victory in 1938. The Republican opponents of Governor Warren, who denounce him as a weakling and opportunist, are also planning to make capital of this issue. McLain is threatening to run for governor in 1950, with the obvious purpose of forcing James Roosevelt to come out against repeal. The Democrats seem to be generally against repeal and would like to convert the question into a partisan issue so as to align the pension people with them in 1950.

IN THE last decade four statewide elections have been held on pension plans in California. Each time approximately a million "yes" votes have been cast. Analysis of this vote shows that it comes from the counties with the densest industrial concentration and from the precincts with the heaviest labor vote. In other words, the vote on pension measures apparently divides along class lines, with the upper and middle classes opposing and the lower and working classes in favor. This familiar line-up is already taking place on the repeal issue.

There is, however, a middle opinion in California which insists, although not too effectively, that the ques-

tion of repeal should be decided on its merits and not be permitted to become a test of strength in the all-important 1950 election. The 439,699 voters who failed to express an opinion on Proposition No. 4 last year probably represent this middle group, unwilling to oppose liberal pensions and yet unable to approve the particular scheme. Similarly many California liberals find themselves in sympathy with the position of the California Council of the Blind but feel that the Council has picked up some strange allies, a point which the Council itself would readily concede. On the other hand, this same doctrine of guilt by political association can prove highly damaging to the various movements inclined to align themselves against repeal, for McLain's organization lacks the rudiments of political democracy.

In short, the nature of "pension politics" makes for politically ambiguous situations of the kind that California voters now face, with the blind arrayed against 80,000 or more Senior Citizens who have enlisted in a movement that they do not control. The nation would do well to study California's rich experience with the pension problem, for it is destined to become an important and disturbing factor in national politics also.

"Night-Club Emperor"

BY ANDREW ROTH

Saigon, August
ON JUNE 14 a new flag was raised over Saigon. After a twenty-one-gun salute a plump-faced young man made a speech and took again his inherited title of Emperor of Annam, which he had renounced four years before. The French called him Bao Dai and designated him "Chief of State" of Viet Nam, newly raised to be a semi-autonomous member of the French Union.

Bao Dai is France's "last card" in Indo-China. In Laos and Cambodia guerrillas are increasingly active. In Viet Nam, which comprises the provinces of Tonking, Annam, and Cochinchina, the French control hardly more than the cities; 80 per cent of the countryside is in the hands of Ho Chi Minh's guerrillas. By installing Bao Dai as emperor the French hope to split off the moderate nationalist majority from the "hard core" of Communists in Ho Chi Minh's nationalist coalition.

Bao Dai was born in 1916 as Prince Vinh Thuy, the first son of Khai Dinh, Emperor of Annam. The court of Annam had been implicated in the unsuccessful uprising of 1916, and Albert Sarraut, France's High Commis-

sioner in Indo-China, thought that a pro-French emperor could be molded by having Vinh Thuy educated in France. During the most formative years of his life—from the age of six to sixteen—the young prince received the education of a purely decorative French aristocrat. When, at sixteen, he returned to the ancient city of Hue to ascend the "dragon throne" he found himself the head of elaborate ancient rituals and little else.

In August, 1939, when France entered World War II, and again in June, 1940, when Admiral Decoux took over in Indo-China for Vichy, Bao Dai pledged his fealty to France. But it took only a little pressure from the Japanese occupation forces to make him proclaim: "The Empire of Annam has today denounced the French-Annamite treaty and . . . declares . . . that . . . it will collaborate with Japan with all its force."

The tough left-nationalist Annamite guerrillas led by Ho Chi Minh, after fighting in the malarial jungles for five years against both the collaborationist French and the Japanese, finally raised their red and gold flags over Hanoi in August, 1945. They did not junk Bao Dai precipitately. In his overriding desire to secure the widest unity, Ho Chi Minh did not want to antagonize the monarchists. After some negotiations, therefore, Bao Dai was persuaded to abdicate and was rewarded by receiv-

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ing from the new democratic Republic of Viet Nam the title of "Supreme Counselor" and an annuity. Bao Dai, departing, charged France with aspiring to reestablish the "oppressive protectorate" of earlier days.

Feeling this abdication as in some ways a liberation, Bao Dai went to Hongkong and proceeded to enjoy its fleshpots. The Viet Nam Republic continued to pay his annuity for a while. But after full-scale warfare broke out in December, 1946, he was informed that the republic needed its small store of foreign exchange and gold to purchase arms and could pay him no more.

AT ABOUT the same time the French became interested in the man they had been derisively calling the "Night Club Emperor." Convinced that with 120,000 troops they could not defeat a nation in arms, they began to consider the "Bao Dai strategy." Proponents of this strategy argued that the Communists were a minority in Ho's nationalist coalition and that if a prominent non-Communist like Bao Dai were given good terms, he could wean the moderate nationalists away from Ho and enable the French to crush the Communists.

The French began to make overtures to Bao Dai in July, 1947, and gave him an allowance. Bao Dai listened but put off clinching the deal. He asked for very good terms, explaining that he could not compete with Ho Chi Minh unless he could get peacefully as much as Ho was trying to get by fighting. Some Frenchmen felt he was deliberately demanding more than the French were willing to grant so that the negotiations and his allowance would continue and he would not have to return to Indo-China. His reluctance was understandable. The Viet Nam Republic had "executed" a number of people right in French-held Saigon after its military courts in the jungle had found them guilty of treason.

The first time the French were able to get him near Indo-China or near a written agreement was when he met High Commissioner Bollaert aboard a French naval vessel in the Bay of Along in December, 1947. The terms of the agreement reached there have never been completely disclosed, but fairly well-authenticated reports indicate that Indo-China was offered the status of an "associate state" within the French Union and Bao Dai asked to return as a constitutional monarch. He would be allowed to have a limited, French-trained gendarmerie, but the French army would have bases and freedom of movement. In the field of foreign affairs his government could have junior diplomats at existing French legations in neighboring countries. Customs and foreign trade would remain under French control. Bao Dai informed Bollaert that he considered these terms inadequate to win support away from Ho Chi Minh, but he initialed a preliminary agreement.

The French were jubilant and predicted to this reporter in Saigon that Bao Dai would be back in his

former capital by February or March, 1948. A few days later they learned he had flown to Europe, "to have his eyes treated." In January, 1948, Bollaert had to go to Geneva to negotiate with him. The French newspapers called him a "political coquette" who was "teasing" the French government by "saying yes one day and no the next." In May, 1948, Bollaert said in effect: "We have presented our proposals; now it is up to the other side to make itself clear." He is reported also to have threatened to cut off Bao Dai's allowance. Bao Dai flew back to Hongkong and in June turned up for another conference accompanied by the diminutive, canny General Nguyen Van Xuan, who had been acting as his "stand-in" in Indo-China. The terms of the agreement reached at this meeting were reported to be almost identical with those offered to Bao Dai in the previous December. Again it was said that Bao Dai signed only after Bollaert threatened to cut off his allowance.

Although most neutral observers thought the French did not offer enough, it proved impossible to have this agreement ratified in Paris. Within France's unstable coalition Cabinet were two dissenting groups. The M. R. P. contended that too much independence was being given to Bao Dai and that the effect on the French Union would be disastrous, since similar concessions would have to be offered to Tunis, Morocco, and other "associated states." The Socialist Party maintained that it was ridiculous to negotiate with Bao Dai, who "enjoys no authority in the country," and that peace could only be restored through an agreement with Ho Chi Minh. Unable to command a majority on its Bao Dai policy, the government did not submit the question to Parliament.

WHILE Bao Dai frolicked on the Riviera, the French government was brought to the rude realization that 1949 was Indo-China's "year of decision." The victorious southward march of the Chinese Communists made it likely that they would have a common border with Viet Nam before the end of the year. Within the country, despite the expenditure of \$1,000,000 a day and casualties of 4,000 men a month, the French had been stymied. Military observers believed that if Ho Chi Minh's resistance army could obtain heavy mortars, machine-guns, and some light artillery from the Chinese Communists they could start throwing the French out of their present narrow beachheads.

The economic situation was no more cheerful for the French. The dribble of rubber, rice, and coal reaching the wharves had been so expensive to produce that it could not be sold at a profit. In Paris the index of Indo-Chinese stock dropped from 647 in April, 1948, to 528 in May, 1949.

Furthermore, the puppet players in the Indo-China theater were fast losing their appeal for the people. General Nguyen Van Xuan had been named head of the

"Provisional Central Viet Nameese Government" in May, 1948, but he was not a happy choice. Although Annamite by birth, he is French-educated, has French citizenship and a French wife, and can scarcely speak Viet Nameese. He has been smart enough to realize that to be a good puppet and obtain popular support he must not appear to be a puppet. But colonial-minded French officials have made it impossible for him to fool his countrymen.

These developments finally forced the French government to play Bao Dai—their "last card." They decided to grant him what they must to induce him to return, back him up with military reinforcements, and if possible obtain diplomatic and perhaps economic help from the United States. Bao Dai insisted that he must be able to offer the people a united country—that is, Cochin-China joined to Tonking and Annam—which controlled its diplomatic relations with foreign countries, its army, and its currency. The French decided to meet him halfway, and on March 8 Bao Dai and President Auriol signed an accord.

Unable to delay his return any longer, Bao Dai flew back to Indo-China. He went, however, not to Saigon but to the mountain resort of Dalat, explaining that he would not "take over" until the French Parliament had ratified Cochin-China's approval of unification with Viet Nam. The French Assembly acted on May 21. Bao Dai had no more excuses. A few weeks later he was driven into Saigon behind six armored cars and between solid lines of French police and troops. At his formal installation as emperor on June 14 he paid tribute to the Ho Chi Minh-led resistance by saying that Viet Nam's new status had been "obtained thanks to the heroism of our entire people."

The March 8 agreement was now made public, and a close reading of it reveals that Viet Nam's new status falls far short of the dominion status promised. Bao Dai's government is permitted to send diplomatic representatives only to Siam, the Vatican, and either China or India, and even these must be approved by the President of France and work under the supervision of the French diplomatic mission in the same country. The size of the Viet Nam army is not yet fixed, but in time of war it must come under the command of a French general. The



Bao Dai.

Seligson

French army has the right to maintain bases and garrisons and to "circulate freely" among them. Viet Nam is supposed to have full internal sovereignty, but the time and manner in which the High Commissioner will turn over his power is yet to be discussed. In legal disputes in which a Frenchman is involved, only French law can be invoked. Higher education will be the monopoly of a joint French-Viet Nam university, in which all classic subjects will be taught in French.

France is given economic privileges in Viet Nam somewhat similar to American privileges in the Philippines. Viet Nam will have its own currency, but it will be part of the French franc zone and the currency can only be changed from parity with the franc after consultations. Customs, foreign trade, the treasury, immigration, and communications will be controlled by mixed commissions.

IMEDIATELY after his inauguration Bao Dai went about the crucial task of forming a Cabinet: the result would show to what extent the moderate nationalists were willing to support him. His most signal failure was the refusal of the Premiership by the anti-Communist Ngo Dinh Diem, the outstanding leader of Viet Nam's 2,000,000 Catholics. Ngo wrote in the *Echo du Viet Nam*: "The aspirations of the Viet Nameese people will not be satisfied until our nation obtains the political status enjoyed by India and Pakistan." Finally Bao Dai had to take the post of Prime Minister himself and make General Xuan his Deputy Premier and Defense Minister. For the rest the members were mostly technicians or holdovers from the discredited regime of General Xuan. The one exception was Nguyen Van Long, a well-known Cochin-China editor who became Foreign Minister. This was balanced by the refusal of Nguyen Van Ty, a prominent engineer, to serve as Minister of Public Works.

While the passive nationalists like Ngo turned a cold shoulder, the active nationalists gave Bao Dai a hot reception. In the first month after his arrival grenade explosions in Saigon broke all records. Four Viet Nameese newspapers were suppressed for criticizing him. Six thousand young students of the Saigon *lycée* refused to attend classes. A thousand intellectuals and professionals addressed a petition to the French authorities, completely ignoring Bao Dai, asking France to resume negotiations with Ho Chi Minh.

Radio Viet Nam announced that a Hanoi military tribunal had found Bao Dai guilty of "high treason" to the republic to which he had sworn allegiance in 1945. One of his chief lieutenants was shot dead in Saigon while playing tennis. Meanwhile some ten to fifteen thousand French reinforcements arrived, and it became clear that their bayonets were his chief support. The republic's commander-in-chief, Vo Nguyen Giap, hastened the

training of military cadres, promising: "The Viet Nameese army's future attacks will not be simply harassing actions."

Amid this crescendo of threats, the French and their collaborators have had one consolation: the State Department approves of what they are doing. United States policy in Southeast Asia has been to encourage moderate nationalism as a bulwark against communism. But in Indo-China the State Department has ignored the bulk of moderate nationalists around the Moscow-trained for-

mer Communist Ho Chi Minh and advocated coming to terms with the "puppet nationalists" around Bao Dai. As far back as September, 1948, when the French had cooled off on the Bao Dai idea, a State Department spokesman tried to nudge them along, and French leftists thereupon attacked Bao Dai as a "man of the United States." Taking up the slogan "Indo-China is Southeast Asia's outpost against communism," the French feel they have the moral right to demand American money and arms to "reestablish peace."

Markets for All

BY FRITZ STERNBERG

THE American recession has not reached very deep so far. The decline in production in the United States is still much less than it was in 1920-21. Yet the recession here has already interfered very seriously with the international economic equilibrium. It has already brought about a world crisis.

Let us be clear on one point. The crisis that England is undergoing is not merely a financial crisis. It is not merely a matter of steadily dwindling British gold and dollar reserves. It cannot be resolved by purely monetary measures, such as a devaluation of the pound sterling. No, England is in the throes of a grave economic and political crisis. And the methods by which a solution will be sought may be decisive not only for Britain's future but for all Europe and thus for America's position in Europe and throughout the world. There is no *short-term* means of overcoming this crisis, and those who expect the Anglo-American-Canadian conference in Washington to provide one are headed for another disappointment.

When the Marshall Plan was adopted, an entire literature sprang up "proving" that the European crisis was only temporary and that by 1952 Europe would stand on its own feet, be independent of the United States. I took a different view. In numerous articles in *The Nation* and in my book "Living with Crisis" I called attention to the scope of the European crisis and the reasons for its great impact. I pointed out that there were crucial factors working against a solution within the next three years. If such a view required concrete proof, that has been provided by the gravity of the present situation in Britain.

The British crisis is of course closely connected with the curve of world trade. England managed temporarily to push its exports to a level some 50 per cent higher

than that of 1938. Only by a continuation and expansion of this export drive could it hope to export enough to pay for the raw materials and foodstuffs it must import and at the same time maintain the present English standard of living. Despite the extremely low level of foreign trade between Western and Eastern Europe during the period of the cold war, and despite the steady deterioration of Britain's position in Asia, the British export drive was successful during this period because (1) England gained a number of new markets for its industrial products, markets formerly supplied by Germany, whose exports were at a minimum at this time; (2) America was so prosperous that it could import goods from England and the countries of the sterling bloc at relatively high prices; and (3) the curve of world trade was still rising.

Only on the optimistic assumption that these conditions would continue could Britain hope to keep its import deficit within the limits of the Marshall Plan aid projected for it. But these conditions no longer exist. And at the same time the unfavorable factors continue to exert their influence. Trade between Western and Eastern Europe remains at an extremely low level. Since the Russians believe that they can only profit from a deepening British crisis, with its possible effect of sharpening Anglo-American antagonisms, they cannot be expected to take a keen interest in a swift and substantial increase in East-West foreign trade. They are more likely to pursue a policy of watchful waiting. Meanwhile the Communist victories in China impair the British foreign-trade position even further.

Let us turn to the United States. On paper there is a very simple solution for Britain's—and all Europe's—dollar straits: let America increase its imports by several billion dollars. Actually, in any foreseeable future, such a solution is anything but possible. Even in the years just past the trend has been for American imports to decrease in proportion to American production. "The

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physical output of goods and utilities in 1948 was 68 per cent higher than in 1937," says the 1948 World Economic Report of the United Nations, published a few weeks ago, "whereas the physical volume of imports was only 7 per cent greater than in 1937." During the war America learned to produce many of the commodities it formerly imported. In the present period of recession it is not likely to increase substantially its imports from Britain and the sterling area. Such a policy would require incisive readjustments in American industry, and Congressional resistance would probably be insurmountable. (This, of course, does not exclude the possibility of a deliberate, temporary increase in imports of certain raw materials for military stock-piling.)

Not only do Britain and the sterling area face a reduction of their exports to the United States, but soon they, and indeed the whole world, will have to reckon with a new factor—steadily rising German exports. The World Economic Report cited above presents an extraordinarily instructive picture of Europe's exports in the post-war period compared with those of 1938. Europe's foreign trade, it shows, has made good progress in recent years in returning to a peace-time level. Britain, close to its peace-time level in 1946, exceeded it as early as 1947 and very greatly in 1948. Germany was the only big industrial country in Europe that had achieved but a small fraction of its peace-time exports by 1948. In 1938 German exports—as they had done as long ago as 1913—almost equaled British; in 1948 they were a bare fifth. Unquestionably the immediate future will bring decisive changes in this respect. The extremely low German export level was tolerable only because American aid paid for necessary imports.

This situation began to change as early as the German currency reform. And now that western Germany has a government of its own, it will undoubtedly make vigorous efforts to increase exports, to bring exports and imports into closer accord. Such an increase will have a serious effect on the British position, since German exports, chiefly manufactured products, are very similar to British.

Japan, of course, will henceforth also attempt to increase its exports in the world market. In 1937 Japan imported goods to the value of \$1,363,000,000, exporting \$1,200,000,000 worth. In 1948 Japanese imports amounted to \$683,000,000, and exports had sunk to \$259,000,000. Here too the excess of imports was paid for by the American taxpayer.

WHEN we analyze the British situation not only in the immediate future but beyond, we discover only one solution that promises to be of permanent value. As easy to formulate as it is difficult to carry into effect, this solution is simply a tremendous increase in the volume of foreign trade, an increase so great that British

exports can be pushed up even though German and Japanese exports will also be rising sharply.

What are the prospects for such an expansion of world trade? It would be unrealistic to describe them as favorable; the experience of the past can only make us skeptical. The years preceding the First World War witnessed a tremendous expansion of world trade—and, within its framework, of manufactured products—which was not continued throughout the period between the two world wars. At the highest point in the curve, between 1926 and 1930, world trade was only 10 per cent above the 1913 figure, manufactures only 3.4 per cent. Foreign trade in manufactured products during the years immediately preceding the Second World War, 1936-38, actually averaged 7.8 per cent below the level of 1913.

A similar development threatens today. There is danger that world trade, having come close to the figures of the last pre-war years, may be in for a period of stagnation. The only power that is potentially able to overcome this stagnation is the United States. Its resources are entirely equal to initiating a strong expansion in world trade as a whole—for example, through the development of backward areas. But whether United States resources will be utilized for such a purpose is more than doubtful.

It is often said that as we approach the second half of the twentieth century the United States is beginning to take England's place as the most powerful industrial nation in the world and the greatest exporter of capital. This analogy between the former British and the present American position is in many respects inexact and thus leads to misleading conclusions. To mention but one point: At the time of England's great expansion beyond its own borders, the political situation throughout the world was relatively stable compared to today. British capital exports before the First World War amounted to about one billion dollars a year, and the British military budget was less than 50 per cent of this amount. England at the time had some fifteen to twenty billion dollars in foreign investments, and the interest from this sum alone was larger than the military budget. The military budget of the United States, however, is already fifteen to eighteen billion dollars a year, while private capital exports in recent years have amounted to no more than a few hundred million dollars annually. The most extreme optimists anticipate that in the next few years private capital exports may rise to one or at best two billion dollars a year. This means that the world situation, in comparison to the period of British expansion, has deteriorated to such an extent that American military expenditures are ten or twenty times as great as private capital exports.

In view of these facts it is unlikely that American private capital exports in the immediate future will attain

a volume leading to an expansion in world trade so strong that English, German, and Japanese exports may increase at the same time. There are, on the contrary, many indications that the British crisis which has become so plain today will continue for a long time.

Certain groups in the United States have recognized that the maintenance of full employment will in the long run require substantial expansion of the economy as a whole and that if private enterprise fails to bring this

about government must assume the initiative. The need is understood, though there has been no action to speak of. In the field of world trade the situation is no different. Yet it may take years of stagnation to make the United States realize that the crisis can be overcome only by expansion of the world's economy, over and above the American economy, and that to bring this about there must be a New Deal in American economic foreign policy.

Excommunication, Ltd.

BY MARIO ROSSI

Rome, September 1

THE Roman Catholic church, in an effort to tighten its control over Italy, recently directed the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office—known until the last century as the Tribunal of the Inquisition—to issue a decree of excommunication against about one-third of the adult Italian population. Affected are all who voted Communist and all whom the Pontiff desires to associate with them. This was a purely political act, for the decree was directed not against a doctrine but a party; otherwise it would have condemned all Socialists and Marxists, and therefore also Saragat Socialists, now members of the De Gasperi Cabinet.

A day after the decree was issued, the church felt it must be softened a little. Newspapermen who inquired of the ecclesiastical authorities how it should be interpreted were told that Eastern Europeans who had joined the Communist Party only to obtain a living would not be excommunicated; nor would persons who favored the party as an instrument for the material betterment of the working classes but rejected its ideology. The church has also been working out special dispensations. The decree, for example, forbids Catholics to read Communist literature, but journalists who need to read, say, *Unità*, in order to refute its contentions can be granted permission by their confessor.

The Italian people took this mass excommunication very lightly. An acquaintance of mine recently drove through a small town in the Roman countryside, where the war wrought terrible destruction and the population is for the most part Communist. He asked the local priest how he could possibly carry out the order of the Holy Office. "For my part," the priest replied, "I shall overlook it completely. If I didn't I should lose all my parishioners." He added that a great number of Communist Party members go to church and behave like good Catholics. This is less strange than might at first appear,

since in Italy as in the rest of Western Europe the party propagandizes its minimum program, emphasizing social and economic reforms. It is telling workers and farmers that there is no contradiction between a program of reforms and Catholic doctrine, provided the church does not meddle in politics.

In villages where party members are a small minority well known to the local priest, application of the decree can be less easily avoided. "We will force the priest to give us the sacrament," these Communists usually say. City dwellers are going to churches where the priest is ignorant of their political convictions.

Italians remember that great men like Mazzini and Garibaldi, the heroes of Italian independence, and all their followers were excommunicated. King Victor Emmanuel II, who abolished the ecclesiastical tribunals, also suffered this fate, as did the famous Piedmontese statesman, Count Cavour, and Prime Minister Massimo d'Azeglio, who was a devout Catholic. Mass excommunications started ten years later, in 1860, when the Italian patriot armies, in order to achieve the unity of Italy, began to occupy the papal territories, which extended all over central Italy as far north as Bologna. These armies and hundreds of thousands of citizens who voted in the plebiscite for union with Italy fell under the papal ban.

In 1866 and 1867 two laws for the abolition of religious orders brought about the excommunication of all who approved or enforced them—that is, all members of Parliament who voted for them, the Cabinet, and the judges who applied them. In 1870 Rome was taken away from the Pope and the unity of Italy accomplished; and again the Pope excommunicated whoever took part in this historic event, beginning with General Cadorna. At about this time also the Crown Prince, later to ascend the throne as Umberto I, was excommunicated.

It appears that the only prominent Italian statesman not excommunicated in the past hundred years was Benito Mussolini.

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The Roman church is not concerned with political forms; its interest is power. Not to anybody will it yield one jot of its power. After the unity of Italy was accomplished, the Italian patriots, trying to establish the authority of the newly created state, confronted a Vatican determined to fight them—and not only with excommunication. For many years Pius IX demanded the intervention of other Catholic countries to overthrow the Italian state and help him regain possession of his territories. He called Italian patriots "emissaries of the devil" and representatives "not of Italy but of hell." All non-clerical papers, he said, were "besmirched with the poisonous slobber of hell." Speaking to the Roman nobility, he declared, "No reconciliation is possible between Christ and the devil, light and darkness, truth and falsehood." He told the people that whoever opposed the Pope had the evil eye. (On this and similar incidents Vittorio Gorresio has written a delightful series of articles for the conservative periodical *Il Mondo*.)

Yet it would be a mistake to take the recent decree too lightly. Much concern has been voiced by conservative groups who support the Christian Democrats as an anti-Communist force but are still true to the spirit of the Risorgimento and resent this new Vatican interference in political affairs. It is known that the decree was

approved over the dissent of several religious orders and a number of cardinals.

"There was a time," the Pope once said, "when we doubted whether the Holy Year could be proclaimed"—a clear reference to a possible leftist victory at last spring's general election. "Italy," a clever member of Catholic Action told me in comment on these words, "is to the Holy See what the lungs are to the human body. Only if Italy is ruled by a government friendly to the church can the Holy See breathe freely."

The immediate aim of the church in Italy is, in fact, to build a stronghold here from which it can, unhampered, exercise universal influence. We should keep in mind that the Vatican has invested enormous sums in Italy. It controls many Italian banks and possesses large real-estate properties. The church remembers that in the last century Cavour expropriated the religious orders, and it does not want to run the risk again.

Another point to be borne in mind is that practically all persons intrusted with the temporal affairs of the church are Italians, and their views are the result of immediate contact with Italian politics. Italian events, therefore, have repercussions on Catholicism all over the world. For this reason the Vatican is much more influenced by a general strike in Rome than by a war in a distant country.

Canada's Scapegoats

BY JOSEPH W. EATON

THE Canadian province of Alberta has its own peculiar prejudice. California has legislated anti-Asiatic sentiments into law; Southern and Northern states maintain legal barriers against Negroes; Alberta alone enforces discriminatory restrictions against the Hutterites, a group of white Christians.

Alberta's Communal Property Act, which went into effect on April 1, 1947, requires groups owning land on a communal basis to register their holdings with the Minister of Municipal Affairs. No such group or any person acting in their behalf can purchase, lease, or otherwise acquire new land within a radius of forty miles of any existing communal settlement. Provisional legislation to the same effect which was passed hurriedly in 1944 could have been interpreted to apply to Roman Catholic monastic orders. The new act is carefully worded to affect only the Hutterites.

The sect is generally regarded with considerable tolerance in Canada, though there has been occasional agita-

tion against it. In Alberta, however, the Canadian Legion, farm organizations, and some local school boards have attacked its unwillingness to become assimilated. Like Catholics and other cultural groups strongly convinced of the basic truth of their system, the Hutterites are not anxious to let their young people mix with non-believers and therefore maintain their own parochial schools in villages. They are such devout pacifists that they will not even defend their homes and property against a thief with a gun, let alone go to war. Local merchants resent the common Hutterite practice of not buying at high-priced neighborhood retail stores. The sect has also on occasions outbid other persons when land was being offered for sale.

Similar charges could be just as appropriately brought against other Canadian groups, none of whom have been singled out for legislative discrimination. Alberta like the rest of Canada contains Mennonites, French Canadians, and Ukrainians who also wish to maintain their separate cultural and religious institutions. Conscientious objectors are found in many other sects and by and large have been treated with more common sense in

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Canada than in the United States. The strangest accusation of all is that the Hutterites are good business men who buy wholesale and have saved enough money to pay inflated war prices for land.

The Hutterites fled to Canada from South Dakota during World War I, when angry mobs looted their colonies under the pretext of patriotism.



Golden

They were granted exemption from military service in Canada by a special order-in-council, although this was later repealed under pressure from Canadian "patriotic" groups. During

World War II Hutterite boys of draft age either performed labor service in conscientious-objector camps or were permitted to do essential farm work at home. The colonies had to pay \$15 a month to the Red Cross for each exemption. They purchased government bonds after assurance that the funds would be used for peaceful constructive purposes. This was a profitable arrangement for Canada, for the Hutterites believe that all interest is sinful and insisted that none should be paid on the bonds they bought.

The feeling against them becomes even more puzzling after an examination of the report of the Legislative Committee of the Alberta Assembly, which recommended the land restrictions after holding hearings on the "Hutterite question." The report notes with almost scholarly detachment:

The Hutterite land is assessed and taxed on the same basis as is other farmland in the same municipality. They pay all municipal and school district taxes which may be levied against their holdings. There are no arrears in any community or school district.

The Hutterites care for the welfare of all persons in the colony . . . without help from the municipality. They do not accept old-age pensions, mothers' allowances, agricultural or other relief, or free hospitalization; but some of the colonies accept family allowances.

The Hutterites are peaceful, law-abiding, and seldom appear in court actions.

Leaders of the Alberta Social Credit Party, which sponsored the anti-Hutterite legislation, acknowledge the peaceful and constructive character of the sect. Solon E. Low, M.P., who as Provincial Treasurer in 1944 piloted the first draft of the bill through the Assembly, is no purveyor of prejudice. He explained that legislative action was made necessary by public resentment against the sect during the war: "Threats were made that the colonies would be burned out. Therefore, in order to preserve peace and prevent violence the land-sales pro-

hibition act was put through the legislature. This was effective, and feeling subsided."

The land law is thus justified as a form of protective custody. Actually there has been no mob violence against the Hutterites in Alberta. Moreover, if such threats were made, one would expect a democracy to arrest the agitator rather than throw the victim into jail.

THERE are four thousand Hutterites in Alberta, more than half of the total membership of the sect in the world. The first community was founded in 1528 in Moravia by a group of Anabaptist refugees from Switzerland and southern Germany. The sect does not engage in missionary activity. Baptism is only upon profession of faith by each individual. Believing that any use of force is sinful, Hutterites take no active part in public affairs. They rarely vote and never hold public office. Spiritually they have never wandered far from their hearth, the Protestant Reformation in medieval Switzerland. Even today, in the twentieth century, their archaic Tyrolean dialect, their bearded men and bonneted women, their flocks of geese and their Gregorian chants would seem familiar to Calvin and Zwingli.

The colonies are administered democratically. All adult males participate in electing their leaders and share in the making of major decisions. In line with their religious rejection of private property, the Hutterites hold all capital goods in common—land, machinery, buildings, and all produce. Each person shares in the distribution of consumer goods—food, furniture, shelter, household equipment, medical care, and other needs, on the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

The emphasis of the Hutterite economy is on self-sufficiency and simplicity in consumption and efficiency in production. One finds the latest tractors, machine-repair tools, and other production equipment in a Hutterite village, but no radios, phonographs, pleasure cars, jewelry, or luxury foods.

Alberta's curiously discriminatory law can perhaps be best understood against the background of war-time tensions. Many citizens were at heart opposed to the conscription of their sons, the rationing of goods, the high taxes, and other hardships of war. There was no socially acceptable way of voicing these resentments; it would have been unpatriotic. Action against the Hutterites was one way of letting off steam.

Alberta's real problems derive from the insecurity of the world wheat market, a high tariff, and excessive transportation costs. The Social Credit Party was voted into power on promises of finding a solution for them. But there is still much insecurity among the prairie farmers and the town shopkeepers. In other places scapegoats might be found among Negroes or Jews; in Alberta the Hutterites have been chosen.

BOOKS and the ARTS

Essays and Asides

POLITICS FOR ART'S SAKE

BY ALBERT GUERARD

I HAVE broken many a lance—lances are expendable—in vindication of art for art's sake.

Only this summer I was infecting the earnest minds of Harvard students with that ambiguous doctrine, far more subversive of our "way of life," far more "un-American," than communism ever was. I thought that James Branch Cabell and I were the ultimate ghostly defenders of the ivory tower. It was a joy to find our illustrious fellow-fossil, E. M. Forster, upholding the same dimly remembered faith. He did so before a joint meeting of the Institute and the Academy, the brains of America—although America is unaware of the fact. And the message was extended to the readers of *Harper's*, an innumerable yet singularly refined company. Art for art's sake refuses to give up the ghost; and that unsundered ghost is haunting our "business first" banquet.

I have space only for a secondary aspect of the great problem—art in politics and history, or, more precisely, politics and history for the sake of art. In defiance of all "realists" the collective actions of men are not ruled by materialism, dialectical or otherwise. Would they were! *Homo Oeconomicus* is a sensible fellow, whose sole desire is to buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest. Both the Manchesterians and the Marxians envisage a world free from national prejudices and idealistic passions. If Danzig and the Saar, between the two world wars, wanted to be reunited with the Reich, it was against their plain material interests. The Napoleon who still fascinates us is not the efficiency manager but the arch-gambler, the leader blindly impelled to self-destruction by the romantic urge. His somber masterpiece was the retreat from Moscow. No revolution, no declaration of war, is an act of cool reason; it is a desperate, triumphant *beau geste*. History (past politics) and politics (history in the making) are the epic and the drama of the masses. Myths, legends,

heroes, not dollars and cents, are their true protagonists. All this is familiar enough; Peter Viereck, for instance, has shown in his "Metapolitics" the romantic essence of modern German history.

Need I say that I am not offering a universal master-key? If I believe that political events are first of all of an aesthetic nature, I admit also that they are blended with other considerations. Shakespeare kept an eye on the box office. St. Bernard was a mystic reluctantly but constantly engaged in practical affairs. Roosevelt had a rendezvous with destiny, and stopped on the way to talk it over with Jim Farley—alas! No man, no event, can be reduced to a simple formula.

A few corollaries from the aesthetic postulate. It is dangerous for a regime to be totally devoid of glamour. France was ultimately bored by Louis-Philippe, too sensible a ruler. The Fourth Republic, that sickly shadow of the Third, puts up with Vincent Auriol and Queuille; but for how long? I wish the great English revolution were not so utterly drab: between either Churchill or Stalin and "a sheep in sheep's clothing" the contrast is too painful. Weimar perished of sanity and commonplaceness. Adventure, drama, heroism, may not be the staff of life; they are at any rate indispensable vitamins.

The remedy would be to give art quite openly its proper place—the first. Then we might hope to get art of the highest order instead of the muddle of silly farce and grotesque melodrama offered by modern history. War was aptly defined as "the cheapest form of art . . . of the most expensive kind." We are cursed with bad art: every bungling artist on the historical stage turns into a Nero. The cure is better art. The pageantry of court and conquest—Louis XIV, the two Napoleons, Disraeli's

jeweled Indian crown, the pseudo-Wagnerian show of the Hohenzollern—was coarse and gaudy, *Kitsch*. A scene from "Hamlet" or "The

Tempest" outweighs all coronations, Durbars, fields of glory, cities aflame, and parades past the Arc de Triomphe to the blare of a hundred brass bands. The Third Reich was a Shriners' Convention without the saving grace of humor; the most deadly critic of the regime was not Rauschning but Charlie Chaplin. If men could be induced to cultivate their best artistic impulses instead of indulging in the crude drama of conquest, revolution, politics, or business, the world might be transfigured with masterpieces of poetry, painting, music. If only Hitler had been a better painter, and had escaped to Tahiti to emulate Gauguin!

One word of warning: nations which place first things first are in grievous peril if they are besieged by barbarians. The Byzantines gave pride of place to theological discussions, with circus games next. But the Turks, the Bulgars, the Latins were ready to swoop upon them. It is to France's credit that delicate men of letters like Herriot and Blum should be pillars of the republic; but in a world of barbarian realists, from Wall Street or the Kremlin, such delicacy is a disease. The permanent cure is not to beat the barbarians at their own game; that would only be yielding to barbarism. The remedy is to civilize the barbarians. We need a Marshall Plan for the reconstruction of cultural values, a Truman's fourth point for the uplift of spiritually backward nations. On this plane America is not holier or richer than the rest; neither is it more sinful or more destitute. The distinction is not between the nations, those romantic idols. It lies in our own individual hearts. Each one of us must decide for himself whether he will pursue true art, that is to say, disinterested harmony, or the caricature of art, *Kitsch*, which is vulgar display.

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

THE device of "our town" and the tone of reminiscence are almost sure to enlist the reader's sympathy in advance. The American reader is particularly susceptible to this approach, for no one can be more sentimental about the old home town than the rootless American who, for better or worse, wouldn't go back where he came from for anything in the world but enjoys his daydream about going home.

This device and this tone are a great temptation to the writer of fiction: they not only serve to establish an immediate bond with the reader but also seem to save him the labor of creating characters and a world—since these are already given, to a point, once he has conjured up "our town." But the advantages of this artistic short cut, as of any other, are more apparent than real, while the disadvantage can be fatal. The disadvantage is that the writer, relying on the device and the tone, neglects to animate his characters except as "characters" in "our town" and tends to luxuriate in evocations for their own sake of atmosphere and landscape.

At least these are the two great flaws in Eudora Welty's latest book, "The Golden Apples" (Harcourt, Brace, \$3), which is composed of a series of sketches having to do with life in a small Mississippi town called Morgana and a group of characters who are ordinary folk but who comprise the town's "main families."

Miss Welty is a talented writer, and she has shown her capacity, in her earlier stories, for creating character and for involving the reader in the fate of even so unlikely a character as a "petrified man." The persons and events in this book are likely enough, but its impact on the reader is not that of participating in the experience of more or less autonomous human beings related to us all but of watching forms of life as through glass—which is transparent but not a very good conductor of primary emo-

tions. Meanwhile, our sense of the reality of Morgana and its inhabitants is diminished, not increased, by the piling up of details of observation and sensibility which are often good in themselves but serve no dynamic function.

The reviewers have spoken in praise of the trance-like atmosphere of the book, and of the exquisite writing to be found in its pages. I should say that the atmosphere is that of a daydream, which soon becomes claustrophobic, and that Miss Welty, caught in her own spell, has indulged herself in finespun writing that becomes wearing.

In the piece called Moon Lake she does come very close to breaking through the spell, and this story comes nearer by far to actuality than anything else in the book. It deals with the relations between the daughters of Morgana's main families and a group of orphans who are thrown together for a week's camping on Moon Lake. Miss Welty sets the scene with humor and perception. She also creates suspense and seems to be building toward a climax that will resolve or at least dramatize the situation she has posed. There is a climax, to be sure, when the orphan Easter is tipped into the water by a small colored boy and is resuscitated only after the prolonged life-saving ministrations of the boy, Loch Morrison, who has been dragooned into acting as the lifeguard for the party. But the meaning of this climax in relation to the rest of the story escapes me, and I must assume that it is just another reminiscence.

The basic trouble, I suspect, is that Miss Welty was somehow led to write, on this occasion, of characters and situations that did not really engage her own primary emotions or her creative energy. As a result they never seem quite real to the reader—and the convention of "our town" combined with the reminiscent tone makes them seem all the more like figures in a remote landscape.

The book does, I suppose, convey the quality of life among the main families of Morgana, but this is its only accomplishment, and the quality of life among the main families of Morgana is, to speak rudely, not worth 244 pages. Even so, one is left wondering if this is really the way it is. Morgana is a small town in the deep South. Yet, reading

"The Golden Apples," one is scarcely ever made aware of the mixed racial background which must surely affect the quality of life even of the main families of small towns in the deep South. I don't mean at all to suggest that Miss Welty should have given us stories of race conflict. I only find it curious that a basic and dramatic circumstance of life in the South should count for so little in her picture of Morgana.

War Trial

THE CASE OF GENERAL YAMASHITA. By A. Frank Reel. The University of Chicago Press. \$4.

GENERAL YAMASHITA was about to be tried for his life. The charge against him was that he had "permitted" the troops under his command to commit the atrocities amply shown by the evidence. Before the trial the general was examined by two army psychiatrists. In their report these officers stated that "one was *against one's will* or better judgment inclined to credit him with being sincere in his answers" (the italics are mine). The answers indicated that General Yamashita was innocent of any personal responsibility for what had taken place. This would not do. So the psychiatrists discovered some sort of psychosis to explain the prisoner's ability to give such convincing answers and clinched their opinion by asserting: "The humiliating, brutal treatment of Generals Percival and Wainwright by the Japanese gives the lie to General Yamashita's statement as to his treatment of them."

This is convincing until you learn that General Yamashita did not make any statement about General Wainwright, had never had any connection with him, and came to the Philippines for the first time two years after the surrender at Corregidor.

Captain Reel relates this incident near the beginning of his personal report of the defense of General Yamashita by a group of American lawyers, temporarily in the army, of which he was one. Under the circumstances theirs was not merely an unsought and ungrateful task but a hopeless one, and their colleagues of the bar may well be proud of the devotion with which they lived up to the highest ideals of their profession. Captain Reel's book is a dramatic recital of

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the methods employed by the military acting under the specific direction of General MacArthur to make sure of a conviction and to prevent, if possible, any interference by the courts with the final outcome. Even more important, it documents in detail the conclusions of the Supreme Court of the United States (*In re: Yamashita*, 3 . . . U. S. . . .) and particularly the dissenting opinions of Justices Murphy and Rutledge, whose deeply probing analyses throw into sharp relief the legalistic correctness and intellectual aridity of the majority statement.

This was the first of the "war-crimes" trials. Indeed, there is some reason to suspect that it was expedited, on orders from Tokyo, so as to be the first. In consenting to review the case at all the Supreme Court took an important step in the vindication of the supremacy of the law over the will of the soldiers. But the majority stopped at that point. It was contended by General Yamashita's counsel—and Captain Reel sets out the bases for the contention—that the military commission had refused to the defendant a fair opportunity to prepare and present his defense, that it had received "evidence" inadmissible by any standards of American procedure, and that it had reached its conclusion of guilt without any credible proof that the prisoner had power to prevent the atrocities shown to have been committed by his troops or even knowledge of their occurrence. The majority sidestepped this contention by defining the question before it as merely whether the military commission was forbidden by statute, by treaty, or by the Constitution to "hear the case." It said: "If the military tribunals have lawful authority to hear, their action is not subject to judicial review merely because they have made a wrong decision on disputed facts." It decided the commission had "power to hear." Then it washed its hands of further responsibility by remarking, "We do not consider what measures, if any, petitioner took to prevent the commission by the troops under his command of the plain violation of the law of war or whether such measures as he may have taken were appropriate and sufficient to discharge the duty imposed upon him." And so the petition was denied and General Yamashita was hanged.

But for Justices Murphy and Rutledge there was more at stake than the life of a Japanese general. "I cannot," says the latter, "conceive any instance of departure from our basic concepts of fair trial if the failures here are not sufficient to produce that effect." The guaranty of the Fifth Amendment, in the opinion of these judges, bound every American tribunal, even a military tribunal unless convened during the course of actual hostilities, and this guaranty they thought had been completely disregarded, with the danger that "stark retribution will be free to masquerade in a cloak of false legalism. And the hatred and cynicism engendered by that retribution will supplant the great ideals to which this nation is dedicated."

Captain Reel tells us in detail about the events which eventually provoked these words of the late Justice Murphy. To the legal reader his book is a well-written story of absorbing professional interest. To the layman who is not especially concerned with the far-reaching implications of what is related it is at

the least an exciting tale better done than many a widely sold "thriller." To the politician it will suggest the making of a few notes against the not impossible day when General MacArthur may become a serious factor in our politics. In the thoughtful student of the current American scene it will provoke serious reflections upon the proper role of the military in a democracy. For every American it will be profitable reading.

LARUE BROWN

Some Recent Novels

THE BIG WHEEL. By John Brooks. Harper and Brothers. \$2.75.

THE SURE THING. By Merle Miller. William Sloane Associates. \$3.

THE WILLOW CABIN. By Pamela Frankau. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$3.

FOR a little while, and for extra-literary reasons, "The Big Wheel" and "The Sure Thing" will be widely read and discussed by the public which likes novels about current events. Ostensibly



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accurate and sober, having perhaps some value as sociological studies, they sound like the talk of a man who knows What Goes On in Washington or in the Luce enterprises and is only a little long-winded in the telling.

The central figure in "The Big Wheel" is the editor of the largest and slickest picture magazine in the country, an ex-liberal, a rich boy who believes, religiously, in the cultural and political aims of his magazine. When he loses this belief he goes into luxurious exile in Southern California. The picture of activity in the offices of *Present Day* has a sickening likeness to life. The editor is intended to be a tragic figure, but his collapse over a mere question of ethics is a concession to a popular morality which hardly exists either within the frame of the novel or outside it.

The plot of "The Sure Thing" details carefully the defamation and ruin by Congressional investigators of a nice, intelligent young man. There are descriptions of Washington life that may be informative to people who don't read the papers, but this novel, too, never rises for a moment above the material it exploits.

The central concerns of "The Willow Cabin" are timeless: unhappy love and the individual quest for certainty in an uncertain world. Miss Frankau, heavily influenced by the contemporary novel of

sensibility, sounds like Rosamond Lehmann in the worst parts of "The Ballad and the Source." She constructs a devious triangular relationship, unfolding it slowly. Toward the end there are revelations in the Jamesian manner, except that they fall flat. Her characters have all the veracity of a column by Elsa Maxwell. Moving in the international cafe society of the middle thirties—a society which appears to have bedazzled their creator—they play out their passions on transatlantic liners, in English country houses, among the hazards of the London blitz, and in luxury hotels. They are all labeled—one exists on sandwiches and whiskey, another always whistles "Loch Lomond" in moments of tension—for it is assumed that labels will establish them as glamorous and subtle personalities.

The obvious fact about these novels is that they are not written seriously. Mr. Brooks and Mr. Miller are deluded by the great popular American heresy about fiction, according to which anyone who has had even a moderately startling experience or who possesses any kind of specialized knowledge can and indeed must write a novel. Either author might have written either book. Their prose, just competent to skim surfaces, is honest in so far as such skimming is almost all they pretend to do. Miss Frankau's prose aims to plumb depths which, she keeps insisting, her characters possess. It is all the time quivering with sensibility. Yet anyone familiar with similar complexities really apprehended, by Elizabeth Bowen, for instance, can predict these coynesses, these factitious indirections, these preposterous urbanities. There is no connection in this novel between the involved plot, the glamorous characters, and the prose which pretends to realize them.

ERNEST JONES

Books in Brief

THE SHORES OF DARKNESS. By Demetrios Capetanakis. Devin-Adair. \$2.75. Capetanakis was a young Greek poet who died in 1944 at the age of thirty-two. The last five years of his life were spent in England, where he gained sufficient command of the English language to use it with considerable skill, both in verse and in critical prose. The present collection, edited by John Leh-

mann, and including also an appreciation by Edith Sitwell and a personal memoir by William Plomer, contains Capetanakis' complete English writings; in addition to his own poetry and essays some translations of modern Greek poets are presented. Thoughtful work, controlled and dignified, with a good deal of emotion, and a central philosophy which gives the book a unity and integration well above the average.

WOMEN ARE HERE TO STAY. By Agnes Rogers. Harper. \$5. A picture book showing the varying activities and amusements of American women during the last half-century. Recommended only to those who like to drench themselves in nostalgia and old photographs.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

IN THE eight years since my one previous visit to Tanglewood (less for a Koussevitzky performance of Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis* than out of curiosity about the place) the Berkshire Festival has changed a great deal. The school has grown in size and importance; and it has come to provide—though only for special audiences of "Friends of the Berkshire Music Center" who have demonstrated their friendship with donations—some of the most interesting events of the festival schedule. I have in mind in particular the opera department's productions: Britten's "Peter Grimes," Mozart's "Idomeneo," and this year Gluck's "Iphigénie en Tauride" and Britten's "Albert Herring."

During those eight years I have heard some of what was broadcast from Tanglewood; and the past summer I heard in this way the second halves of programs conducted by Koussevitzky and by two young conductors whom he has taught and sponsored—Leonard Bernstein and Eleazar de Carvalho. Koussevitzky rattled off the *Allegro* movements of Mozart's "Linz" and G minor Symphonies in a way which revealed his own complete unawareness of the marvels and the great events which it was his job to make his listeners aware of; and the only way he could think of to deal with the *Andante* was to take it

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Largo. Let me, however, report a different view of his inadequacy in this music—the view of a musician who listened to Mozart's E-flat Symphony the following Sunday and remarked on the brilliance and sparkle that Koussevitzky got in the slow movement, but also found it "remarkable that a man of his age should have only this zest and happiness in Mozart" but "not seem to feel that instantaneous lightning-stroke poignancy that comes in Mozart's late slow movements. Perhaps there is an eternal child in Koussevitzky which has never heard that cry."

Bernstein conducted Stravinsky's "Scènes de ballet"—very scrappy as a concert piece, and played with luxuriant softness in place of the requisite dryness and sharpness. But his performance of "Le Sacre du printemps" had a controlled steadiness which gave it cumulative power and excitement—the shock being all the greater, therefore, when the final crescendo was interrupted outrageously for the scheduled advertisement of a carpet-cleaning company.

De Carvalho's novelty was Strauss's Horn Concerto No. 2, written in 1944, of which one can, if one likes, say, as the critic of the London *Spectator* said of another of these most recent Strauss works—that it will "delight all those who enjoy the sound of a consummate musical craftsman moving at ease among the shadows and echoes of his own past." What I say is that I got no delight from this consummate craftsmanship rambling on like an old man mumbling into his beard. I regret that I can no longer recall Joseph Stagliano's playing of the difficult horn part; but I do recall de Carvalho's assured conducting of the piece, and the straightforwardness and coherence of his performance of "Also sprach Zarathustra."

For "Albert Herring" I went over to Tanglewood (a spectacularly beautiful place and region) and heard both performances. It is a work which restores the respect badly damaged by "The Rape of Lucretia." There is, especially in the first scene, a certain amount of nothing more than hubbub contrived with nothing more than resourceful craftsmanship; but at a sufficient number of suitable places Britten has got down to the work of real invention for the situation, and produced brilliant things like the charming song to which the

children bounce their ball, the grand statements of Lady Billows's announcement to Albert of his election to be king of the May, Miss Wordsworth's rehearsal of the children in their song of homage, the speeches at the coronation party, the bustling comic fugues and fugatos of the earlier scenes, the fugal dirge of lamentation in the last scene.

The production reflected the same uncertainty of direction as Boris Goldovsky has shown in his selection of out-of-the-way operas to produce—one year Mozart's "Idomeneo," the next year Rossini's "Il Turco in Italia." That is, the setting for Lady Billows's garden, designed by Charles Elson, was stylized to the point of fantastic (and not very good); but the setting for Mrs. Herring's grocery was realistic. Again, Lady Billows and Mrs. Herring, the first night, had grotesquely and effectively stylized makeups; but the other characters did not, and the second night Lady Billows and Mrs. Herring also did not.

Apart from that, however, it was a thoroughly prepared, smoothly executed, and high-spirited performance that Mr. Goldovsky conducted the first night, with David Lloyd (Albert), Ellen Faull (Lady Billows), James Pease (the vicar), Janet Southwick (the teacher), Francis Barnard (the police superintendent), and Eleanor Davis (Mrs. Herring) outstanding in the excellent cast. The second night there were some changes of cast—e.g., Beverly Hunziker, quite good as the teacher; Irvin Nordquist, even better than Manfred Hecht as the butcher's shop-hand; Joseph Contreras, barely able to sing some of the police superintendent's music—which were partly responsible for the occasional raggedness or mistake.

CONTRIBUTORS

ALBERT GUERARD is the author of "Personal Equation" and other books.

LARUE BROWN, formerly special representative of the Attorney General and assistant to the United States Ambassador in London, is a practicing lawyer in Boston.

ERNEST JONES is a member of the English Department at Queens College and a regular contributor of reviews to *The Nation*.

Letters to the Editors

Peekskill and Germany

[This letter was written before the second Peekskill riot occurred last Sunday.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Dear Sirs: A reenactment of the Nazi assault on culture and human life took place on the night of August 27 in Peekskill, New York. This is a tragic moment for America, as it was a tragic moment sixteen years ago for Germany and the world.

In the space of a few hours the fiery cross, symbol of the Ku Klux Klan, burned; musical scores were hurled into a bonfire; an audience, gathering to hear a concert by Paul Robeson, was attacked and driven away by a fascist-like mob. Shouting anti-Semitic and anti-Negro obscenities and calling for the lynch-murder of Mr. Robeson, the mob rioted, set fires, overturned cars, and injured scores of men, women, and children.

The hoodlums were led in this violence by Klan elements among the local leaders of the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Jewish War Veterans, the Catholic War Veterans, and local government officials. This attack took place without interference from law-enforcement officers. Not one of the participants in this crime has been apprehended or arrested.

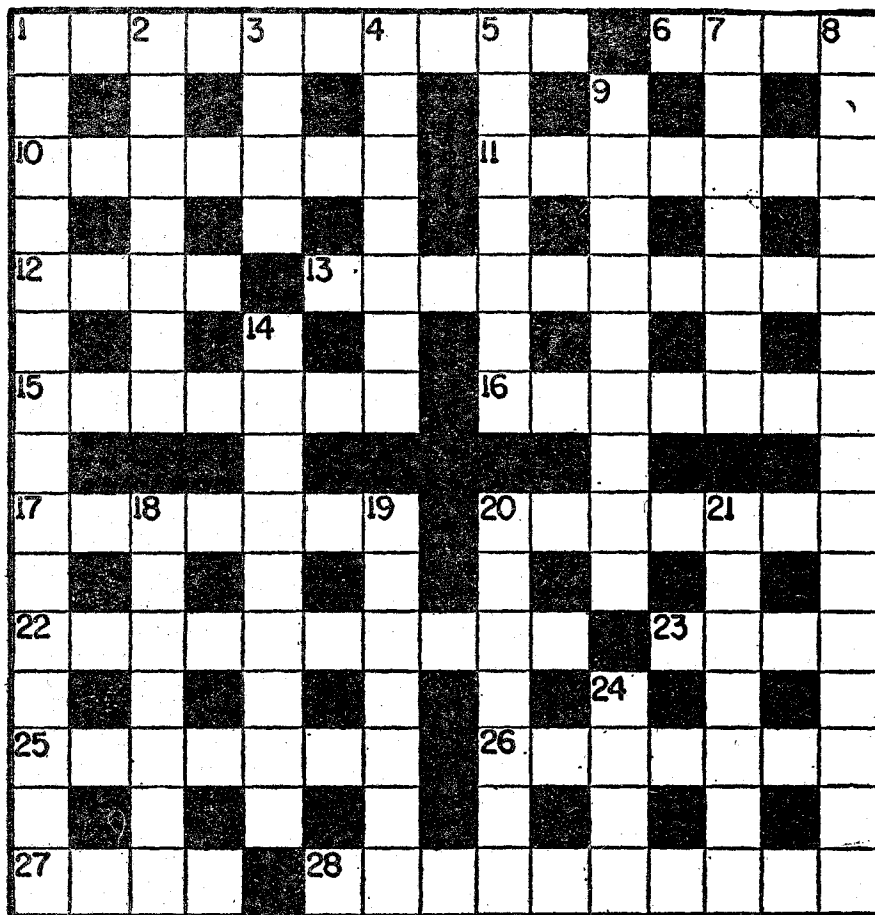
To the banning of books is now added the burning of books. To the blacklisting of artists and censorship of their works is now added physical violence against them and their audiences. The parallel with Nazi Germany is deadly and ominous.

We call upon Governor Dewey to direct the state authorities to apprehend and prosecute the guilty and to institute a public investigation and prosecution of all government officials involved. We further call upon the Governor to prosecute the Klansmen of the state of New York, a thousand of whose names he has stated he has in his possession. We call upon the President and the Congress of the United States to act to prevent a repetition of this fascist attack on constitutional and human rights.

The views of Mr. Robeson are not at issue in this tragedy, nor are the varying views of the many hundreds who came to hear him, or of those who sign this statement. At issue is the right of Americans to hold varying views, to express varying views, and the guaranty of this

Crossword Puzzle No. 326

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 It comes out of a mold. (10)
- 6 Mineral of our capital city. (4)
- 10 It cures jaundice. (7)
- 11 Ale pots for John, perhaps. (7)
- 12 Mug (well-known to those who like Punch). (4)
- 13 Morbid, but suggests the road of reasoning. (10)
- 15 See 20 down.
- 16 Angelfish are after 22's head! (7)
- 17 What the woman who stays for dinner does for relief. (7)
- 20 Stalk (a little foot-work otherwise). (7)
- 22 Look into a hair-raising operation if finishing on edge. (10)
- 23 Mr. Reeve's collar? (4)
- 25 Usual state of a Hoosier. (7)
- 26 A minim's the basis for a soulful philosophy. (7)
- 27 Break of morn. (4)
- 28 A sympathetic expression. (10)

DOWN

- 1 Serves the function of dotting the "I" there? (5, 2, 8)
- 2 Incapable of being famous? (7)
- 3 Obviously a healing priest. (4)
- 4 Turn the rascals—not out, but into seafaring men. (7)
- 5 Chain us to lo's father. (7)

- 7 Island home of the giant iguana. (7)
- 8 Expensive home of the woman of Paris? Look for her there. (8, 2, 5)
- 9 Pull the writer's leg, if you feel like getting reckless. (9)
- 14 The King of Spades, from the Ace-King? You'll get more than lumbago! (5, 4)
- 18 Change the reel and see "A Hero's Friend!" (7)
- 19 A chorus-girl when high. (7)
- 20 and 15 It had its good points when produced by I. L. G. W. U. (4, 8, 7)
- 21 It accompanies the proceedings of those who care. (7)
- 24 I am not present, but the Conqueror's determination remains. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 325

ACROSS:—1 ROUNDHEADS; 6 IMPI; 10 and 27 STEEPLE CHASERS; 11 REACHES; 12 and 5 KENTUCKY DERBY; 13 LITER; 15 HOSTS; 17 SULKY RACE; 19 LOW BRIDGE; 21 DEALT; 23 BRYAN; 24 and 28 WIN PLACE AND SHOW; 29 SIDE; 30 BEST SELLER.

DOWN:—1 REST; 2 USELESS; 3 DEPOT; 4 EXERCISED; 7 MAHATMA; 8 INSURGENTS; 9 PARLAYED; 14 SHELLBACKS; 16 STRANGER; 18 LIE IN WAIT; 20 WAYWARD; 22 ALCOHOL; 24 WASTE; 25 LODGE; 26 EWER.

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A Raft of Trouble

Dear Sirs: I read your good-natured and rather facetious editorial paragraph in *The Nation* of August 13 commenting on the case of John Monks and Alfred McGuire in the Brooklyn-Queens night court where I presided on August 2, 1949. I take it that the events which you briefly summarized were borrowed from the daily press. Those reports were grossly inaccurate. Let me state the facts:

The sea on that afternoon in the Rockaways was very rough and dangerous, and it got rougher still toward evening. At about 6:30 p. m. the two defendants came down to the beach

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with a rubber air-inflated raft. The two lifeguards on duty told the boys that with the water so rough it would be dangerous for them to go out in so frail a craft. The boys, however, confident of their prowess as boatmen and as swimmers, plunged into the sea on their little adventure. When they were about half a mile from shore the lifeguards saw that their raft was tossed about by the huge waves as if it were a small rubber ball and decided to go out after them in their catamaran. When they caught up with the two young adventurers, they told them to row for shore. The boys answered that they would do so when they were "good and ready." By this time a crowd of several hundred people were watching from the beach and boardwalk. Some of the watchers became uneasy, thinking that both of the boats were in difficulty. So they rushed to the nearest telephones and called the police, the Coast Guard, and what not. The response was immediate. The first to reach the young men was a small plane which flew low over the raft and signaled to the occupants to row for shore, which they did. When they reached the shore, closely followed by the lifeguards in their catamaran, the crowd received them as conquering heroes, but the police had other ideas. That evening McGuire and Monks were brought into my court charged with disorderly conduct.

The two young men promptly pleaded guilty, stating that they were excellent swimmers and "thought" they could handle themselves in the water under the conditions which they encountered. They promised not to take their raft out again in rough waters.

I did not fine them ten dollars each, as reported in the press. I suspended sentence on both of them on their promise to the court. There is no question, under the broad police powers granted to the police and in certain instances to the Park Department, which now has sole jurisdiction of all the beaches, that these two departments have the power to declare when the waters in and around the city are too rough and dangerous for bathing and small boating.

The question of human rights was not involved. As I saw the facts, I was concerned with the welfare of two young and rash boys who had acted impulsively and so endangered themselves. If in the future they take their raft out on calm waters, I am sure they will meet no interference from anyone.

HENRY A. SOFFER,
City Magistrate

Far Rockaway, N. Y., August 26

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